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In contrast to the bolhon, which was generally organized for cooperative agricultural labor, is the palihog. The palihog is assistance of neighbors or friends in doing a job which one cannot do alone. The workers are fed by the individual who requested their assistance. Palihogs are most frequently held for the construction or repair of residences. While the bolhon has disappeared the palihog is still practiced. Two palihogs occurred in Caticugan during my residence. Both palihogs were held for the repair or construction of dwellings.

One palihog was formed to replace rotten house posts. This is quite a task; men pull the house with ropes to a more erect position. The other palihog was to help the owner place the posts in the holes for a new house. The palihog is said to be held sometimes when a man is late in plowing or planting and wants to accomplish the task speedily; while several fields were planted late in 1951, because the cultivators were sick, no palihog occurred. Immediately after the last war, according to the barriofolk, due to the carabao shortage, there was a resurgence of the palihog. However, once the shortage was alleviated the palihogs rapidly decreased.

One palihog was held in Barrio Caticugan by a family who had dug the post holes for their new house. They needed help to get the long timbers into the holes. There were about ten men in the palihog besides the

prices vary according to size and quality. Needed supplies as wire and rope normally are purchased in Dumaguete. 226 458

Plate XLVI[1] illustrates the general shape and size of the typical Siaton bonsod. Bamboo poles (osok) used to make the bonsod walls (bolon and paniko) are sharpened at one end with a large bolo or saw; a small slit is made in the internodes of the bamboo that will be submerged. These slits permit water and sand to enter the bamboos making them heavier and easier to push into the sea floor. Usually a number of these internodes at the ends of the poles are filled with sand for the same purpose. A chisel (gobia) is used to make the slits. 226 335

From 120 to 130 bamboos are used to make the banata or matting of the bonsod. (See Plate XVLII)[2] Each section of the banata is from 78 to 84 feet long and about 20 feet wide. The bamboo splints (lag-e) that are woven together to make the banata are one-half inch wide. Sometimes the banata is called lag-e although, technically, the lag-e are the long bamboo splints of the banata. For the typical Siaton bonsod fourteen banatas are used. The banata enclose the bonsod to prevent the escape of the fish caught inside the corral.

Bamboo poles are split by the golayan. A long bamboo is split for a few feet at the end and a small piece of bamboo is jammed into the split end. The pole is placed on a raised platform consisting of two horizontal crossbars supported by two uprights. Two vertical bamboos are attached to the horizontal crossbars making

1 [See p. 589, cat. 226 or 335 -- Analyst]
2 [See p. 590, cat. 226 or 335 -- Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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Plate XLVI
Page 589

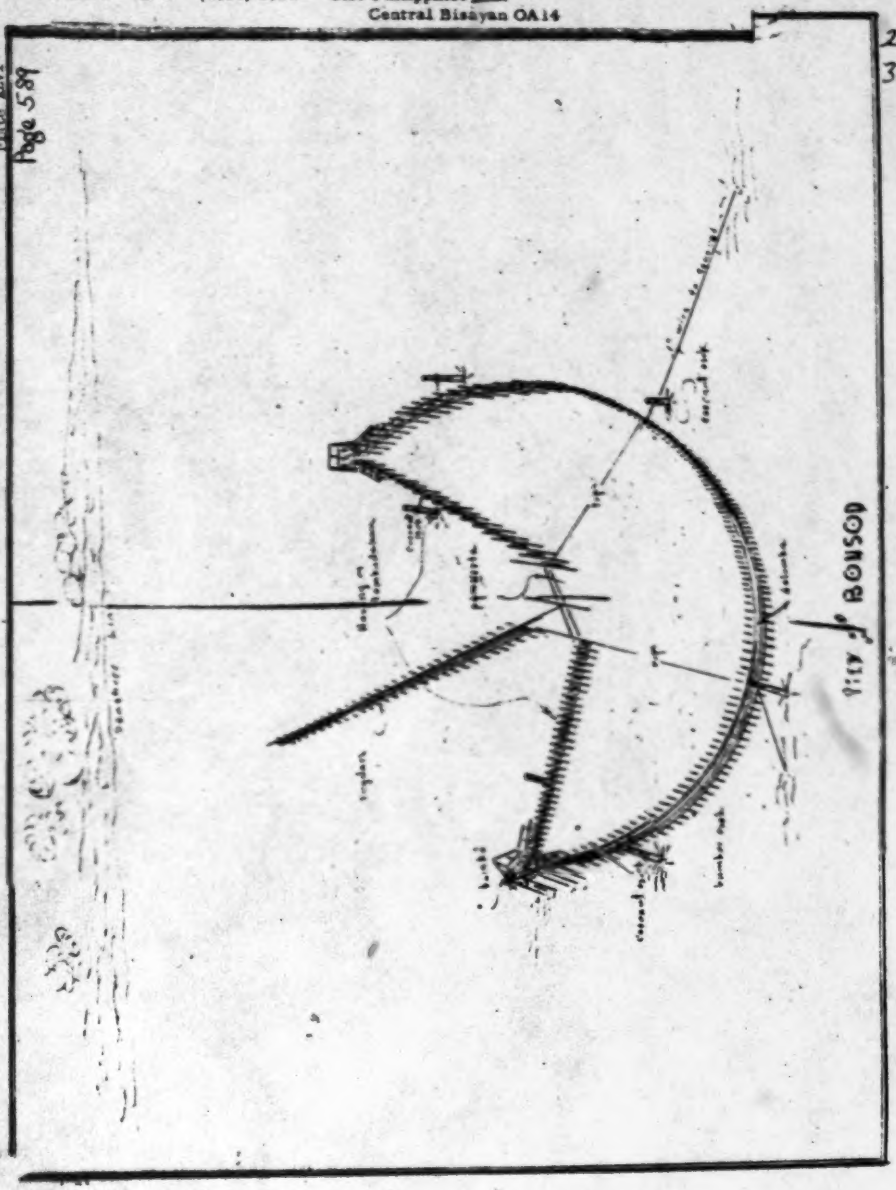

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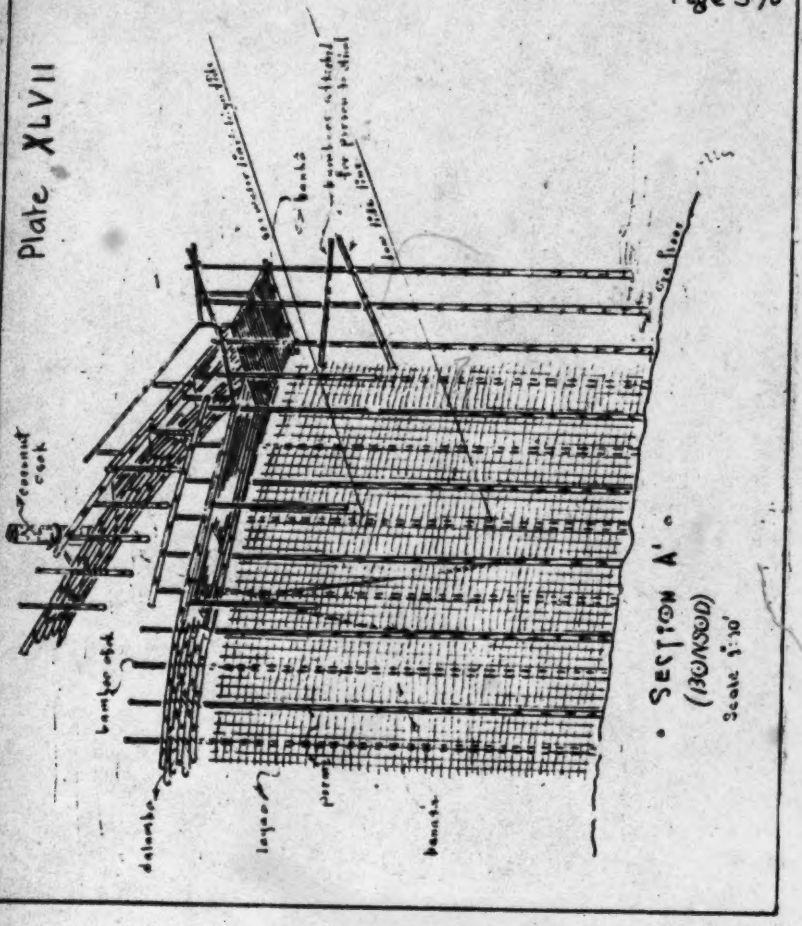
Plate XLVII



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a small square entrance. The ends of the stick in the split end of the bamboo are forced against these two vertical bamboos and the pole is pushed through the entrance. Since the stick in the split end of the bamboo cannot pass through the entrance it splits the bamboo down its entire length. The end of the bamboo, as it is being pushed, is "threaded" through a large rattan ring beyond the entrance of the golayan so the two bamboo splints (golay) will not spring outward during the process. Usually one man guides the bamboo through the rattan ring whereas another pushes; a 70-foot bamboo can be split within a few minutes. The golay are then split into thinner splints with a bolo and become the lag-e.

There are certain times deemed best to start the banata weaving. Workers of one bonsod constructor started their banata on Sunday "because the church is full and the bonsod will have good luck, catching many fish." The men worked only a short period on the banata; the idea was to start the banata on Sunday, not to finish it. Older men are said to believe it is wise "to end the banata at one's heart so one can feel when fish are inside the bonsod." Others say the banata should be ended "at one's mouth so one can always eat what one catches inside the bonsod." Some fishermen believe it is best to begin the weaving of the banata on either a Wednesday or Saturday with a full moon.

Lag-e splints are placed on the ground about 4 inches apart; they are woven into a banata with rattan

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lashings by open twining. Each row of open twining is separated from the other by about 6 inches. Sig-id vine is used more frequently than rattan in Tanjay because of the scarcity of the latter. In Siaton builders said sig-id vine is not as strong as rattan and, for this reason, rarely use it in constructing their bonsods. If the materials have been prepared previously, an individual can weave one banata section in a day. When the individual banatas are finished they are rolled, placed on the raft, and floated to the fish corral site.

When the bonsod construction begins, a raft (balsa) is built from fifty or sixty bamboos. Sharpened bamboo osoks are loaded on the raft that is poled to the site. Often osoks remain from the last fish corral that furnish builders with the bonsod outline. If not, the first osok is sunk in the center of the entrance to the bonsod pamuerta ("gate"); the gate is usually thirty to thirty-five feet wide and is where the fish enter the bonsod. Then two osoks are pushed into the seafloor on each side of the center one, about 15 feet to the left and to the right. Three or four men move the osok back and forth, gradually pushing it into the bottom.

Once the three pamuerta osoks are embedded, if the bonsod is being built on a new site or no poles remain from the previous fish corral, the balangsan ("ruler") is used to get the proper crescentric shape of the bonsod. The balangsan is a bamboo about fifty

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feet long; a large stone is tied to each end so it will sink. A rope is then tied to the balangsan's center so the workers may move the submerged bamboo. From the center entrance bamboo (see Plate XLVIII, E)[1] another bamboo is sunk at the end of the togdan. Using this pole and the pamuerta bamboo a straight line 85 feet long is made seaward; at the terminus another pole is sunk. (See Plate XLVIII, F.)[1] The rope tied to the balangsan is fixed to the center pamuerta pole; an arc is gradually made either way from the bolon, the fish corral's center section. It is impossible to see the submerged balangsan, but the men can feel when a pole, being pushed downward, bumps against the balangsan. As they move either way, in making the panikos, they reduce the length of the rope tied to the balangsan; by this method the bonsod's crescentric shape is achieved.

The hasang (or tombadaham) walls of the bonsod are called "gills." (See Plate XLVIII, A to B and C to D.)[1] Once the poles are embedded, the dalamba is added--a row of five to seven bamboos to which the osoks are lashed. (See Plate XLVIII, View of Lag-e.)[1] However, until the banata are installed, only every other pole is tied to the dalamba; otherwise the banata could not be placed alternately between the poles. Bamboo poles on the outside of the banata are called perme; those on the inside are known as layao. Normally from 300 to 350 poles are used to make the bolon, panikos, and hasang.

1 [See p. 593A, cat. 226 or 335 -- Analyst]

Plate XLVIII

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Some builders use more bamboo to make the fish corral walls stronger.

The togdan is usually from 150 to 200 feet long; the bamboos are firmly fixed to the dalamba. The togdan guides the fish into the bonsod; once inside the fish rarely escape through the open entrance by which they entered. The togdan does not have a banata for the bamboos are close enough to guide the fish into the bonsod.

The next step is to make platforms (lantay or banko) at the ends of the bonsod. (See Plates XLVI and XLVII.[1] These platforms are where the men stand when they net the catch inside the fish corral. Some bonsods (none in Siaton) have a small hut on one of the platforms where a man stays at night to watch and call the workers if a school of fish enters. In Siaton the practice is to send a man in a boat to see if the bonsod caught any fish during the night.

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The final step is the installation of the banata; this process normally calls for a ladlad. To install the banata more men are needed for one day than employed to construct the fish corral. A ladlad is a traditional feast given by the builder mainly to attract volunteer workers to help install the banata. Table XXXVI[2] presents a breakdown of the cost of one ladlad given when the banata was installed in a bonsod off Sitio Baybay.

1 [See pp. 589, 590, cat. 226 or 335 -- Analyst]

2 [See p. 595, cat. 226 or 476 -- Analyst]

TABLE XXXVI

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Ladlad Expenses, Sitio Baybay, 1951

Food Items	Cost (Dollars)
Small pig	$12.50
Tahores (beans)	.30
Spices (for pig)	.20
Cornmeal	3.75
Bread	.40
Guhang	2.00
	$19.15

This ladlad attracted only three volunteer workers and the host invited friends from the poblacion whom he did not expect to help with the banata's installation. I asked him if it would not have been cheaper to have paid wages to the three volunteer workers than to have held a ladlad. He replied: "Oh, yes. But the ladlad is traditional"; the prestige gained was adequate compensation to the host. Usually, however, ladlads attract more volunteer laborers and is cheaper than paying for extra workers.[57]

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After eating, the workers put the banata rolls on the raft and float them to the fish corral. A roll is pushed from the raft into the water and slowly maneuvered by swimmers to the proper position alongside the bonsod wall. Several men, standing on the bonsod catwalk, push the banata roll with a pole until it floats vertically,

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[57] In Tanjay the ladlad is called labod. One Tanjay informant said it was necessary to kill the labod pig inside the fish corral; this is not done in Siaton to my knowledge. Some Siaton informants, however, said it was wise to stain the banata with pig blood before they were installed.

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A long pole is inserted into the roll's center as the swimmers unwind it. Gradually the banata is inserted between the perme and layao poles, the latter are not lashed to the dalamba. Once the banata is between the perme and layao bamboos, the layao again are only temporarily lashed. After several days the water-logged banata sinks to the bottom, and another banata is placed above it. When the second row of banata (sugabao) are installed, the layao are lashed permanently to the dalamba. The banata are attached to one another with bamboo "pins" (bulankit). If the banata were fixed to the perme and layao they would be unable to rise and fall with the tide; currents and swells would soon break them.

A few large coconut boles are pushed into the seafloor near the fish corral. (See Plate XLVIII, View of Lag-e.)[1] The dalamba is tied, with wire or rope, to these supports to strengthen the bonsod. These coconut trunks are sometimes made firmer by an anchor embedded in the seafloor and tied to the coconut tree. (See Plate XLVI.)[2]

The wood anchor's crossbar has slits in each internode so it will fill with water and sand and become heavier when submerged. (See Plate XLIX.)[3] An anchor may also be hooked to the dalamba, and the other end of the rope tied to the coconut. The strength and movement of the currents determines the number and positions of these coconut supports and anchors.

1 [See p. 593A, cat. 226 or 335 -- Analyst]
2 [See p. 589, cat. 226 or 335 -- "]
3 [See p. 597, cat. 226 or 335 -- "]

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20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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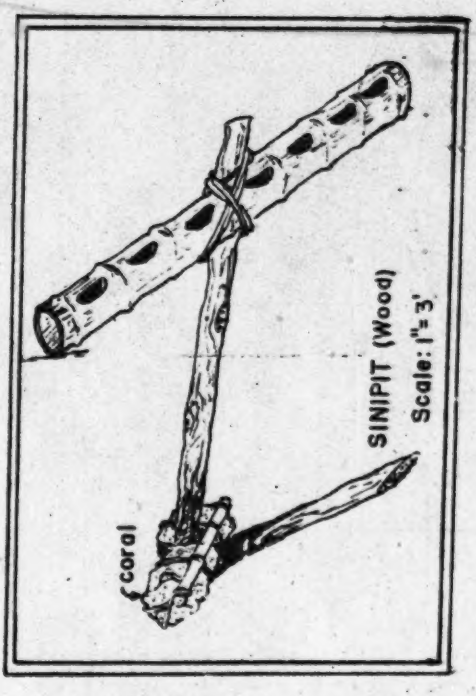
Plate XLIX



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Several Siaton builders said that a bonsod could be built within ten to twelve days, with seven or eight workers, if the materials were prepared. However, the construction of a bonsod usually extends over a longer period since rough seas may delay the work for several days at a time.

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Associated Beliefs of the Bonsod

When the bonsod (or pahubas) is completed a pa-anod is held by many of the owners or builders.[58] A small raft (gakit) is loaded with a roasted or live white chicken and other foods and set adrift in the sea. The food offering is usually made in sevens and includes the same foods previously described for the agricultural ceremonies. Many fishermen believe the fish are owned by sea spirits; by making a pa-anod they will be lucky and catch many fish. The person releasing the little raft may say: "Spirits, here is your share. We hope this is enough. If not, spirits, please excuse us and give us good catches in our bonsod." Some said the raft is set adrift the third night after the completion of the bonsod and when a bobo fish trap is first used. The pa-anod may be done at night since many believe it is unwise to permit strangers to witness the ceremony.

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[58] Pa-anod means "to float away" or "to be carried away by the current." The same ceremony is practiced in Panjay; some people in Siaton refer to the pa-anod as a siwata.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

CHAPTER VIII

THE BARRIO DWELLING

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The dwelling typical of the Catiougan barriofolk, the materials used, household furnishings, methods of construction, and the various associated beliefs and practices with the home are described in this chapter. The materials and style of the typical Philippine rural dwelling have not changed radically for centuries. In the early 17th century one observer wrote: "Their houses are built on four posts; their walls are of bamboo and thatch, and are very small."[1]

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The typical barrio dwelling (balay) in Catiougan is a one- or two-room pile structure from one to five feet above the ground. Walls are of bamboo and nipa palm leaves; the roof is thatched with nipa shingles or cogon grass. Although nails and wire are used, rattan lashing is the usual means of fastening the timbers and shingles. In 1939 Philippine Census states that nearly 69 per cent of the Filipinos lived in "light material" houses; 78 per cent of the inhabitants of Negros Oriental and 70 per cent of the people of Negros Occidental occupied such residences.[2]

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[1] Pedro De Sant Pablo, O.S.F., "Compulsory Service by the Indians," Blair and Robertson, op. cit., XIX, p. 72. This account was written in 1620.

[2] The Yearbook of Philippine Statistics: 1946, pp. 190-1.

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bark now can be peeled easily from the trunk segments. This inner bark must be dried in the shade for several weeks before installation.

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The bark is nailed to the house framework or lashed with rattan. Nails make a neater walling and save time; small wooden discs are used to prevent the nail head from tearing through the bark. People who live in bark-walled dwellings often prefer them to nipa walling; they report that bark walls are cheaper, more durable and take less time to prepare. Bark walls, however, are typical only of dwellings near the forests, usually in pioneering communities opening new areas of interior farm land.

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In Siaton poblacion a few houses are built of "strong material," i.e., timber beams, wooden walls and floors, and corrugated iron roofs. The 1939 Philippine Census states that 4.6 per cent of the Filipinos then lived in "strong material" dwellings. These homes are usually inhabited by the principalia in Siaton and cluster near the plaza; before the last war the most elaborate houses surrounded the plaza. In these houses the typical split bamboo slat floor often yields preference to plank flooring. More "strong material" dwellings were found in Siaton poblacion before the last war; present high prices of materials makes the reconstruction of such houses costly.

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ASSOCIATED PRACTICES: When to Begin House Construction

Construction of a Caticugan barrio dwelling involves various associated practices. Certain months are considered best to start building of a new house, for various practices concerned with building methods, and for numerous ceremonies appropriate after the house is completed.

For advice on when to begin construction of a house most barriofolk consult a small astrology booklet, Napta Lunario.[17] (No one knew what Napta meant; Lunario was translated as "something to do with the moon.") The subtitle of this booklet states that it is:

> The true story of the fate of all people. With the stars that go together at the time you were born, the day that is good for planting, to build a house, buying, making love, or getting married, etc. What is the significance of nights with no moon, etc.

However, the role of astrology in the life of the people in Caticugan is not as prominent as in mainland southeast Asia--Burma and Thailand--where hardly a decision is reached that is not influenced by astrological readings.

In fact, the Napta does not seem to be widely used by the barriofolk except for practices connected with house construction. I never heard of anyone consulting the book to determine when to plant fields, make love or get married; all Napta references were made when information was collected for this chapter. Not everyone has

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[17] Primo J. Alvez. Napta Lunario, Cebu City, Bacalso Press, Basak, Pardo, 1938.

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a copy of the book; they consult one owned by a friend or neighbor. One illiterate informant had his daughter read a friend's Napta to determine when he should start the building of a new dwelling. Much of the information probably has become part of the people's folklore.

According to Napta unfavorable months to start building a new house are February, March, Apri, August, and December. According to Napta, if a house is started in these months its future occupants will be visited by serious illness, death, thunder, or lightning, and the owner will not be prosperous or happy. December is considered worst; this was the month that "King Herode of Judea ordered the beheading of the children." A house built during favorable months, June, July, September, October and November, is blessed by God, the occupants will prosper and have no misunderstandings with their neighbors. Some people state that months containing an R are favorable for beginning the construction of a new house.[18]

Barriofolk do not agree perfectly as to good and bad months. For example, Napta states that April is a bad month but some people said it was a good month. The belief that the months which contain an R are favorable conflicts with the recommendations of Napta that are more widely accepted. September, the peak of the rainy season, is considered by most people to be one of the

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[18] Enero, Pibrero, Marso, Abril, Septiyembri, Octubri, Obiyembri and Disyembri are months with an R in Cebuano; Mayo, Hunyo, Hulyo, and Agosto lack an R.

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best months in the year to begin a new dwelling; then it is easier to dig the deep post holes, and follows the first corn harvest, a period of less activity. Whether these factors really are involved is not known; none of the people cited them as reasons for selecting September.

The important requirement is to start construction of the house during a favorable month; building activities can continue during unfavorable months. One man, working on a new house in August, was questioned if this were wise since the month is unfavorable according to Napta. He replied that it was all right for he had raised the house posts in June--a favorable month.[19]

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The construction of a barrio dwelling rarely continues without a break until the house is finished. Building activities often extend over a period of months. Posts may be erected and nothing done for a month until the family is able to buy or prepare materials for the framework and walls. Sometimes only the roof and kitchen walls are finished; one family was living in such a house in Talo-ot. In the poblacion another family began to purchase house posts and timber for a residence two years before actual construction began. Several Caticugan families lived in semi-completed dwellings for months. Often the kitchen is added long after the completion of the one-room dwelling; until then cooking is done under the house.

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[19] One poblacion informant, a member of the principalia, said it was all right to begin construction of a house during June but if one did his children would grow up selfish. He also told how he once warned a Chinese merchant in the poblacion not to begin his house during an unfavorable month; the warning was not heeded and a few weeks after the house was completed it burned to the ground. The Chinese had fallen asleep while smoking; his opium pipe fell from his mouth and started the fire.

When the holes[1] are dug, the posts are laid beside them. Their tops point in a particular direction, depending on the month. Napta states that for January, February and March the posts must face the northeast, for the following three months the southwest, for the next three months to the east and for the last three months toward the northeast. The directions correlate with the southwest and northeast monsoons. This custom is to prevent accidents to the house such as fire or flood. 335 189 777

Some informants said that the tops of the posts should be pointed with the wind. Two dwellings in Caticugan were begun in June and the posts were pointed toward the southwest before they were placed in their holes. Sometimes the post ends are charred to prevent termites from eating the wood after it is in the ground.

Putting heavy posts in their holes appears to be one of the few occasions for a palihog; several palihogs were witnessed in Caticugan for this task. In one case friends and neighbors of one man were invited to help him and his son put posts in holes already dug. Eight men came; when they finished the job, which took about an hour, they ate a meal prepared by the owner. After the meal the men went home but not until some of their wives and children also had come to eat. 335 574 476

There are different ways of erecting bamboo house posts. (See Plate LXIII.)[2] Since bamboo rots quickly in the ground a few barrio houses had bamboo house posts that rested on stone foundations. In one case short 335 342

wooden posts were put in the holes and cut so they fitted inside the larger bamboos that supported the house. In this manner the bamboo posts did not enter the earth. These techniques of preparing bamboo house posts, however, are not widespread since wooden posts are normally used. 335 342

Before the house posts are erected, various items are put in the holes; this practice is followed by nearly all barriofolk. Table XL[1] indicates items placed in the holes and the reasons for so doing. Magahat men chew betel nut and lime and spit red saliva into the post holes: "This procedure is to show respect to the spirits of the place."[21] Spanish coins are considered superior to contemporary Philippine coins, although the latter are used if the former are unavailable. One builder purchased Spanish coins from a neighbor for his post hole ceremony. 335 342 789 777

As in most of these practices to honor or placate the spirits, the combination of items vary but a "core" is accepted by nearly all people. The "stock" items are tilala, kalipay, mik, damolmog, gabigabi, and the pieces of a broken frying pan. It is desirable but not necessary to have an adequate number of each item so one may be put in every post hole. One woman spent an afternoon collecting items for the post hole ceremony; the new house had six posts. She was unable to obtain all items in sixes. The items were dropped into the holes, beginning with the northeast hole, in a counter-clock-wise fashion; the ceremony was done quickly by the woman with no religious

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[21] Oracion, op. cit., pp. 22-3.

1 [See p. 678 cat. 335, 342, 789, or 777 -- Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (195.) 1954 OA1 Philippines OR.
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TABLE XL

ITEMS USED IN POST HOLE CEREMONY
FOR A NEW DWELLING
CATICUCAN, 1951

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Items	Purposes
1. Small lagit (live) stones from river rapids.	1. To prevent fire; to protect the house from strong winds so the dwelling will not be carried away as the stones are not washed away in the river rapids; to make the house posts last longer; to make occupants happy while living in the house; to make them have a "watery, cold mind," i.e., not quick to anger.
2. Tilala leaves (Cordyline fruticosa A. Chev).	2. So the spirits will not be surprised when they see people living in the new dwelling.
3. Kalipay leaves. (Kalipay means "happiness").	3. So household members will always be happy and courteous when visitors come.
4. Mik (Spanish coins) or Philippine coins; salt is sometimes used as a substitute.	4. To prevent termites from destroying the house posts; so members of the family will not be sickly.
5. Dumolmog (a green river moss) and gabigabi, an underwater river plant.	5. So the house will not burn. The connection is that these two plants are always under water.
6. Palito leaves.	6. So household members will always be happy and contented.
7. Any type of flower.	7. Same purpose as kalipay and palito.
8. Pieces of a broken frying pan.	8. To make the house strong; to make the occupants of the house live harmoniously, to sleep peacefully in the house.

TABLE XL (Continued)

Items		Purposes
9. Beads from the dumdum necklace. (Dumdum means "to remember.")	9.	So household members, if they move, will never forget their home and return some day.
10. Kaboy leaves	10.	So household members will always be kind to visitors.

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overtones. This is the common practice but no one could explain why the northeast hole was selected or a counter-clock-wise movement appropriate.

Framework Construction

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The accompanying drawing of a barrio dwelling represents a little better type than is typical for Caticugan as a whole. (See Plate LXIV.)[1] Most houses do not have wooden shutters, the porch usually is not as elaborate, and posts normally are wood instead of bamboo. Basically, however, the sketch represents the average Caticugan dwelling. Some houses were more huts than dwellings, raised only a foot from the surface, with one small room. Only one house in the barrio had wooden walls; this dwelling belonged to the most affluent resident of the community.

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After the posts have been placed in their holes, a plumb line is used to get them straight. Then earth is tamped around them so they are firmly fixed. If bamboo posts are used braces, pelepol, (Plate LXIV, E)[1] may be added to strengthen the uprights. Only two houses in

1. [See p. 680, Cat. 342 -- Analyst]

335 [435]

Caticugan had cement forms to which wooden house posts were bolted by iron straps embedded in the concrete. The cost of cement, made in nearby Cebu Island, was so high in 1951-52 that few families could afford to buy several sacks when building a new house.

After the posts have been installed a temporary bracing (dalamba)--the same term used for fish corral bracing--is lashed to the posts on which barefoot workers stand while building the roof. Once the bracing is finished holes are bored in the upper portions of the posts to insert pegs (tarogos) that support the rafter beams. (See Plates LXV, 30, and LXV-A.)[1]

[342 435]

Rafter beams are normally lashed with rattan. The barriofolk tend to use nails or nuts and bolts to fix the various rafters when wood and not bamboo is used. Rattan, however, is still more popular and cheaper.[22]

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After the pegs are fixed in the posts, the sablayan (Plate LXV, 22) and balabag (Plate LXV, 28)[1] rafter beams are added and lashed in place with rattan. The "heads" or larger ends of the bamboo sablayan and balabag should

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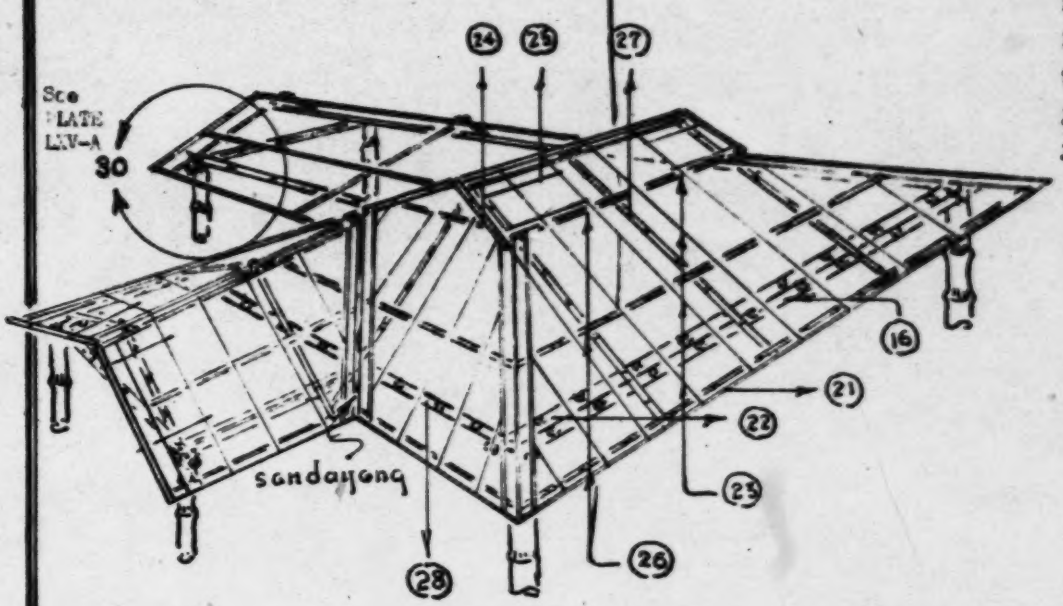
[22] Barriofolk may gather their rattan (oway) in the mountains or buy it. Rattan gathered for house construction, is cut in lengths about 12 feet long. There are many names for different varieties of rattan, usually based upon their use. Mangnao, malabagakay, tagalola and malabutong rattan varieties are normally used in house construction. Tagalola is the rattan employed to lash the bamboo floor slats. Palasan and tagsa-on, thicker varieties, are used in making rope, e.g., to tie the goats or carabaos. Abangan, a thick variety, is not suitable for rope-making owing to the deep notches in the stem; it may be used as the anchor rope for bobo. Tagakan is rarely gathered because it is brittle "even when green" according to my informants. Homokan is used to make the woven seats of chairs or beds. Another variety of rattan, tagiti, the narrowest in diameter is used for a variety of purposes.

[1 See p.682, Cat. 335 or 116 -- Analyst]

PLATE LXV

ROOF FRAMING
(pamalay)



Legend
21. pasposanan
22. sablayan
23. katsau
24 laylayang (a)
25. Liligan
26. hawak
27. salagonting
28. balabag
29. pinsud
30. tarogo

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20: Hart E-5 (195-) 1954 OAI Philippines ~~Art~~
Central Bisayan OA 14

should point either east or south. The reasons for this custom have been forgotten; some speculated that maybe it was because when one floats bamboo down the river the larger ends point south. If rafters are made of timber instead of bamboo it is impossible to determine the "head" and people ignore the custom.

The next step is to install the sbay-sbay (Plate LXIV, 16) that strengthen the sablayan and balabag; however, if timber is used the sbay-sbay are omitted. The roof framework (pamalay) consists of a number of vertical and horizontal slats to which the nipa shingles (atop) are lashed. First the salagonting (Plate LXV, 27) then the hawak (Plate LXV, 26) and finally the katsaw (Plate LXV, 23) are added to the roof framework. The thickest end of the bamboo salagonting must be at the peak of the roof; otherwise it is believed the occupants will always be sickly. The katsaw should always alternate so the occupants will not suffer from nightmares. The hawak, that run the length of the roof, are tied under those that run the opposite direction; this is done to make it easier to add new nipa shingles.

Nipa shingles cost from $1.25 to $1.50 per 100 in Siaton. Nipa swamp owners not only sell shingles in the nearby barrios but also send them to Dumaguete. The Siaton bus often stopped along the road, just outside the poblacion, to pick up large bundles of nipa shingles that the owner was taking to Dumaguete. Some go to a nipa swamp and cut the leaves to make one's own shingles, paying

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the owner for the material. This is cheaper than buying the shingles ready-made.

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Shingles are made of strips of leaves "sewed" with rattan to a narrow bamboo slat. The leaves are doubled over the bamboo and rattan is interwoven below the stick to keep the leaves in place. Plate LXVI[1] illustrates how the shingles are attached to the roof; a nipa roof lasts from six to seven years. The barriofolk normally replace the rotted nipa shingles by twos and threes rather than reroof the entire dwelling; new shingles are added just before the start of a rainy season.

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When the roof framework is finished the roof is shingled. The first step is to put shingles on the silik (Plate LXIV, 10), the roof ridges. Before the first shingle is placed on the silik, a kapia snail shell and some river moss are placed under the shingle. As one informant explained:

> In putting on shingles I put a kapia and river moss under the first one. In doing this I say to myself: 'I'll put this kapia here as a lihi so during strong winds the roof won't be destroyed. And I am putting moss here so my house will not be destroyed by fire.'

Another informant said kapia shells are used because "they are very hard to pry off the rocks in the river." Some added a few leaves found floating in the river to serve the same purpose as the river moss.

Many barriofolk consider it unwise to cut rattan by biting it when making the first tie in building a dwelling. One Naga informant told me:

1 [See p.685, cat. 342 or 116 -- Analyst]

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PLATE LXVI
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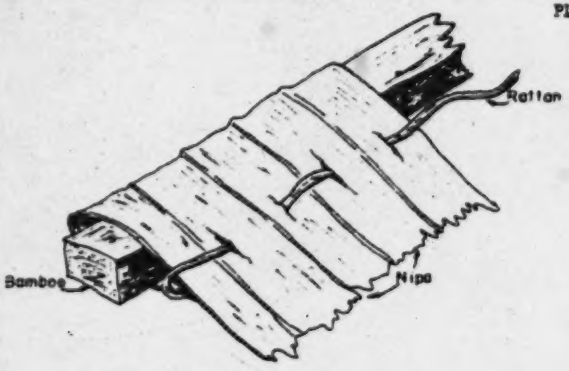
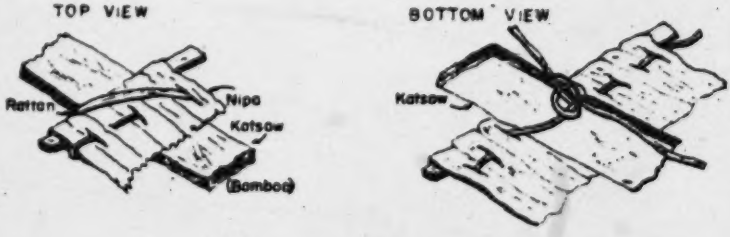


CONSTRUCTION OF NIPA SHINGLE
(actual size)



METHOD OF ATTACHING SHINGLE TO ROOF

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In the first tie of the house with rattan one must be careful not to bite the rattan or else the old people say the house will have many kinds of insects. Maybe they are right. The first house I built I happened to bite the rattan the first time I started to tie; there were plenty of mosquitos in this house, especially during the rainy season. In building this house [the informant's dwelling at the time] I was careful not to bite [the rattan] and there are not many insects, especially mosquitos.

The imitative magic principle is apparent; if one "bites" the rattan the completed house will have many insects that will "bite" the occupants. After the silik is finished, shingles are fixed to the remainder of the roof. Then the bamboo bobong (Plate LXIV, 12) are put along the roof ridges and the da-og (Plate LXIV, 19) added; sometimes the bobong is made of tin. The da-og strengthen the roof and prevent shingles from being blown off during a strong wind.

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When the roof is finished, the floor (salag) framework is begun. (See Plate LXVII,)[1] First pegs are inserted to support the floor beams that may be either bamboo or timber. The bangon are installed after the bamboo hanlag (bosa-og if made of wood) have been put in place. The floor is made of bamboo slats one-half an inch wide and one-fourth an inch apart; the slats are smoothed with the bolo and then either nailed or lasted to the liligan. Such a floor makes a dwelling cooler during the hot season and easier to clean than a solid flooring.

The framework for the door and shutters are now made. The door is usually made of woven strips of bamboo with "hinges" of strong rattan, or fixed to slide in

1 [See p. 687, cat. 342 or 335 Analyst]

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Plate LVII

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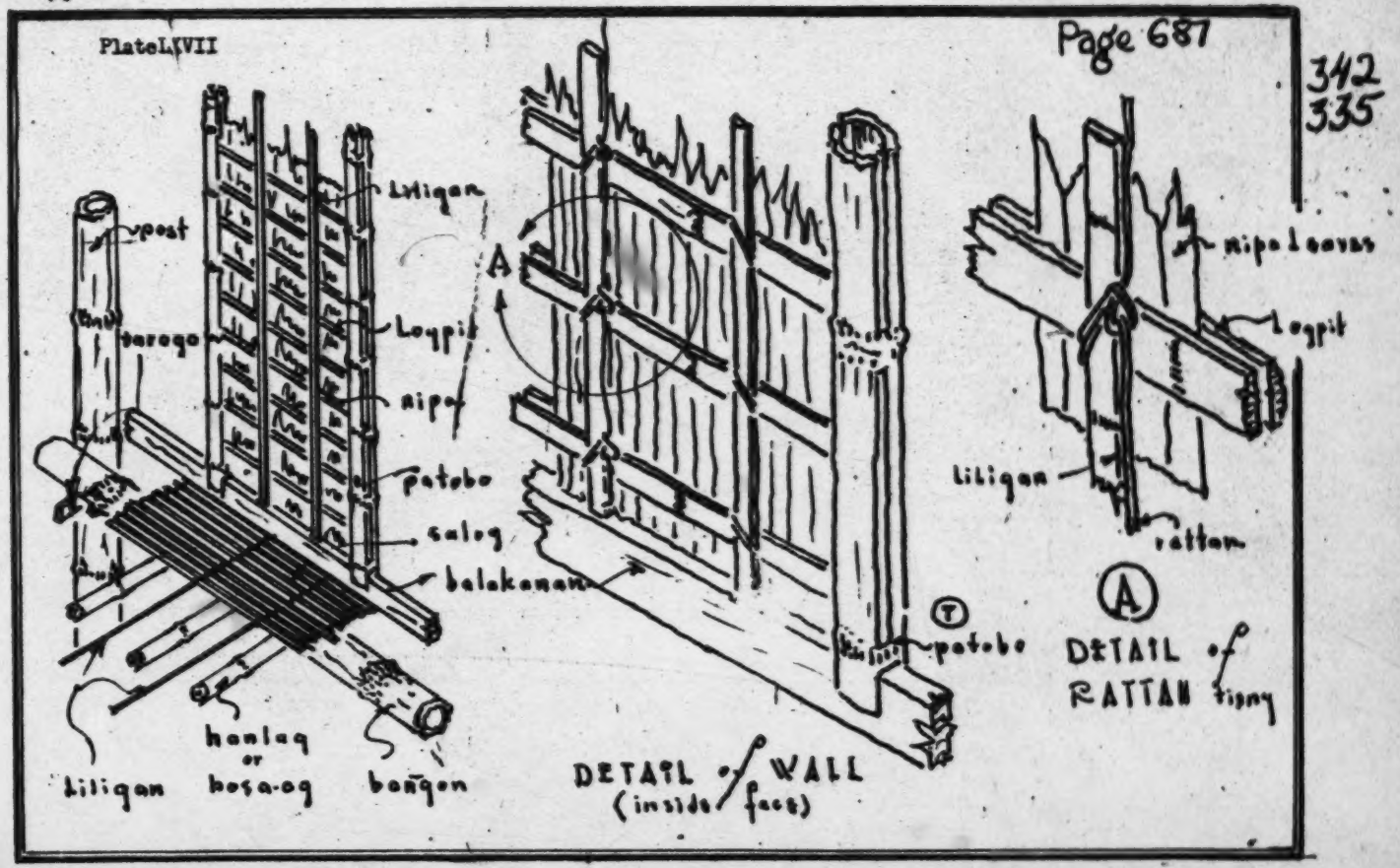

grooves. The shutters (takop or sira) are made normally of nipa or buri palm leaves. In some cases the shutters are wooden. 335 342

A general belief is that it is best for the doorway to face either the east or north; most of the Caticugan dwellings do. However, the barrio chapel has two doors, one facing south and the other west, and a group of houses along the base of the Dangola bluff doorways facing south. Some of these houses are unfinished; the owners eventually plan to have either an east or north doorway. In the poblacion, with its grid street system, there is no attempt to follow this custom. 335 342 789 777 [77]

Barriofolk state that the old people (gulang) thought it wise to have the doorway face either east or north so one's life will always be "rising like the sun" or because rain usually comes from the southwest or west. If the doorway opens to the south or west the occupants of the house will be sickly, not alert during their sleeping hours, or their lives "always setting like the sun does in the west." One informant, whose statement was not backed by the majority of the people, said it was necessary to have the door facing the east or north for otherwise when entering the house "one will go against the 'heads' of the sablayan and balabag."[23]

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[23] Oracion states: "Most houses in the coastal barrios and towns...are constructed so that the main door and stairs face east. This is believed to bring prosperity to the occupants. If the main door entrance faces west, it is believed that the occupants will get sick and may die." Oracion, op. cit., p. 25.

House Wall Types

Besides wood there are three types of house walls in Caticugan. Bamboos are pounded until they are quite flat; they are then cut along one side, spread out and lashed or nailed as walling (sasa). A second type of walling, siklat, is a loose basket weave of thin pieces of bamboo. These two types of walls are often built around the kitchen since they are less inflammable than nipa. The most common type of exterior house wall is nilogpit that is made of nipa. (See Plates LXVII and LXVIII.)[1] The vertical patobo (Plate LXVII, 7) have slits in their sides into which thin pieces of bamboo (logpit) are inserted. Nipa leaves are placed between the logpits and then tied to the liligans. Sometimes wire is used to lash the liligans and nipa instead of rattan.

The next step is to install the partitions (salud) if the dwelling is to be divided into rooms. The earth hearth is built and the altar (artal) constructed. A shelf (pantaran), that often extends outward from the kitchen wall, is made for the large clay water jar. A bamboo ladder is built to climb to the doorway.

Barriofolk said some changes in their dwellings have occurred since the "old days." In the past the roof was steeper, there was no porch or balcony, nor wooden shutters that slide in grooves. Bamboo floor slats were never nailed but always tied with rattan and no cement, wire, or bolts were used. As for furnishing there were no clay pot rests (hornos), mirrors, chairs or chinaware;

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1 [See p. 687 & cat. 342 or 335 -- Analyst]